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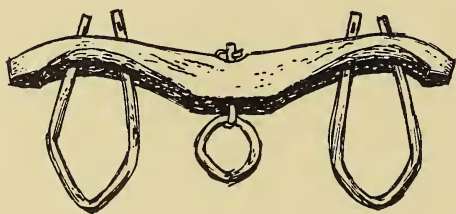
Gen. A.T. Goodwyn.

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Address of General A.T.
Goodwyn, commander-in-chief
of the United Confederate
Veterans, at their 39th reunion ...

(1929)

LINCOLN ROOM



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ADDRESS
OF
General A. T. Goodwyn
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF
OF THE
United Confederate Veterans
AT THEIR
39th REUNION
HELD AT
CHARLOTTE, N. C.
June 5th, 1929



(REVISED AND PUBLISHED
BY REQUEST)

ADDRESS
OF
General A. T. Goodwyn



1. My Comrades: On this patriotic occasion our hearts are filled with gratitude to our heavenly Father for our prolonged lives and many blessings. We are happy to greet each other in the spirit of fraternal love with many proud, sad memories of common dangers, common sacrifices, and also glad memories of duty faithfully performed. We are now joyfully realizing a present blessing in being the invited guests of the hospitable people of the great, historic state of North Carolina. Of this state it has been said in more eloquent words than mine, that "no organized community in America is more distinguished than North Carolina for conservatism, fidelity to engagements, sterling honesty and courageous devotion to liberty, that she was not in haste to unite with the Confederate States as she preferred more conservative and successful resistance, but when her faith was plighted no state surpassed her in sacrifices, labors, and courage." Let us not forget that this Reunion is made sacred to us not only by the valor and sacrifice of our brothers in arms, but sanctified by inheritance from our Revolutionary ancestors in their exemplary and heroic struggle for the principles of political self government and religious liberty, the foundation stones of all free, equitable and orderly governments.

2. At our 37th Reunion you passed a resolution, unanimously, calling on every veteran to do his part in correcting the errors and falsehoods of prevailing history by writing his experiences and observations in order that future historians may be informed of the causes of the War Between the States, and the spirit in which it was waged.

3. Near the close of the war the Confederate authorities at Richmond issued a proclamation to the people of the South in which these two prophetic statements were made, anticipating our defeat:

4. "The Southern States would be held as conquered provinces by the despotic government at Washington."

5. "Failure will compel us to drink the cup of humiliation, even to the bitter dregs of having the history of our struggle written by New England historians."

6. We fought four years of military war against almost incredible odds, in numbers, equipment and resources, and now in sober retrospection, in prayerful introspection, in the words of another we can say, "We thank God that at Appomattox we were with General Lee and not with General Grant."

7. We fought ten years of political war to save our civilization after our Southland had been divided into military districts by a sectional depotism of selfishness, greed, deception and hate. The wisdom, endurance, courage and loyalty of a people were never more sternly tested than during those deplorable years—selfish, designing politicians were the malefactors of that period, as they are the menacing influence to law and order, today. Must not that be false which requires for its support so much imposture, so much tyranny?

8. Cicero said, "The first aim of history is that it should neither care to say anything that is false, nor fear to say anything that is true, for the establishment of truth is never wrong." The great Napoleon in Italy said, "Respect for property, humanity and religion is our animating principle." This was his policy while invading the enemy's country. Read General Lee's orders to his troops when invading Pennsylvania and you will be impressed with the same humane policy in our intranational war.

Again Napoleon said, "Give the masses a toy and they will play with it and allow themselves to be led, provided always the leader is adroit enough to hide his real aims." This declaration was illustrated when the authorities at Washington—by simulation and dissimulation, led a large per cent of the people of the North into the war by appealing to their loyalty to the flag, which was their toy. The most active influence was in Boston, from the same source that for selfish economic reasons opposed the War of 1812, at that time themselves threatening secession, and rendering practical assistance to the British.

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It was at this time that Massachusetts was called on for her quota of troops. Her Governor, Caleb Strong, informed the President that these troops could not be marched beyond the limits of the state unless, he, the President, came for them and marched them. (See "Butlers Book," page 139). Here you see an open defiance of the Government during the perilous time of foreign war.

9. Without asperity in my heart for any man, alive or dead—but with proud devoted loyalty to Southern traditions and history, I shall recall some facts provoking the war, and uncover some impressive and indefensible facts of the war—doing my mite in promoting the full truth to aid scholarship in giving us an American history that will do justice to all concerned. Such a history would clearly show that it was a veiled economic war of industrial greed against the agricultural South.

10. The great mass of people in every section of our vast country are honest, patriotic and fairminded, and when rightly informed will stand for righteous justice in all relations and activities of life. Man cannot more impressively illustrate exalted patriotism than in freely offering his life in the perils of the battlefield in response to his sense of duty.

During our deplorable war such patriotism was proclaimed on hundreds of battlefields by volunteers in gray and by volunteers in blue. This combined courage is an assurance of safety from any foreign enemy. Do justice to all and all hearts will be one in patriotic spirit and purpose.

11. "Justice cannot be done to the people of the South if the acts of 1861-1865 are to be interpreted by the standards of today in the interpretations of past documents, even of the Scriptures. The critic should not be preoccupied by assumptions, nor prejudice questions and interests of a former period, nor be bereft of an apprehensive sympathy with the environments of those whose conduct and opinions are criticised. The impartial critic or historian must learn to put himself in his place—and cling less dogmatically to the present if he would accurately and justly portray the past. The series of reconstructive measures in bald usurpation, in mad tyranny, in the essence of diabolism, in the deliberate purpose to give supremacy to negroes

in some states (as South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana, where, by the census, they had the majority in population), and to Republicans in all, has no parallel in the annals of the Borgias and the Caesars," so declared our lamented comrade, Dr. Curry, whose statue is in Statuary Hall of our Federal Capitol.

12. When President Lincoln was inaugurated on the 4th day of March, 1861, the border States of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas, having approximately two-thirds of the Southern population, had refused to secede, and their official delegates were pleading for a national convention, confidently hoping to adjust political differences and restore the Union. The three ex-presidents, Tyler, Pierce, Buchanan, were active in calling for this convention, without avail. The authorities at Washington decided on war, and by duplicity and prevarication secretly organized a military force to capture and hold the forts on the Southern coast. The foremost of these forces was a squadron of men and supplies for Fort Sumter, a fort essential to the protection of the city of Charleston in the state of South Carolina. As these vessels appeared in view our soldiers did not count the mighty odds against them but like their Revolutionary ancestors responded with open defiance and the Confederate flag waived over Sumter.

13. I now read to you an account by a learned and accurate English historian, Percy Gregg, of a premeditated purpose leading to this eventful day: "The Confederates had obviously done their very utmost to postpone or avert hostilities. Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Seward and their colleagues intentionally and deliberately forced on the collision, determined to leave the South no choice but between surrender at discretion and instant war. They gained their end. Northern feeling would not sanction an offensive war till every effort at peaceful settlement had been exhausted. Hence it was imperative if Lincoln's presidency was not to be signalized by the immediate dissolution of the Union, and to bring the Republican party into universal odium and contempt, or the Chicago platform to be ignominiously retracted, that the North should be hurried into war on false pretenses. The authors of the collision, the men who had publicly pledged themselves to peace while secretly preparing war, profited by their own duplicity, and concealed the transactions which had rendered the reduction of Sumter

an instant necessity of self defense. The North was persuaded the South had struck the first blow—had fired on the uniform—had insulted the flag. The imperious self-will of a dictatorial democracy was successfully inflamed to fury; and from this point it would be as profitable to trace the sequences of fancies in a fever dream as to follow the unreasoning impulses of a deluded people. The double policy of the Republican cabinet—the peace negotiations—the war measures of Lincoln and Seward, had served their double purpose; had baffled the earnest efforts of the Confederates to keep the peace, and hidden those efforts from a great majority of the Northern people. The South had been forced, the North tricked into war. The players of that double game have gone where all hearts are open, all desires known. Their secrets cannot long be hidden from the scrutiny of biographers and historians; already, enough is known to reveal, not perhaps their individual intentions, but their collective responsibility.”

Frazier's Magazine, published in London, represented a large body of foreign opinion when it said:

Abraham Lincoln is responsible to humanity and humanity's God for all the blood that has been shed in this unholy war, for every life and limb that has been lost, for every widow and orphan that has been bereft (see Wm. E. Dodd's "Lincoln or Lee, pp. 157-158).

14. Now, I will read to you the words of Lord Wolseley, Field Marshal of the British Empire, in a letter to Capt. Gordon McCabe, a distinguished Confederate Veteran and educator of Virginia:

Farm Haven,
Glyne via Lewes,
Dec. 8, 1902.

Dear Col. McCabe:

x x x x x x

Anything about your war must always have a deep interest for me for many reasons. I shall refer only to one and it is this: that of all wars with which I am acquainted since classical times, your great war stands out as the most remarkable event. It certainly was the most remarkable event during the time that I have been on earth. I do not go into the question as to whether the South was right or whether it was wrong in what she did, but at any rate her struggle was for a great principle which she believed to un-

derlie the Constitution of the United States, to be in fact the basis upon which that great government was formed by its illustrious founders. It is a point upon which, however, I feel great diffidence in expressing my opinion, but, I can as a soldier say, that no struggle for liberty was ever fought with greater daring, energy, knowledge of war, or more devoted patriotism or in a more chivalrous fashion than the campaigns which will always make the Southern struggle a remarkable event in military history. All who took part in it have every reason to be proud for having done so."

15. It will be a proud and happy memory to the end that I was among the soldiers who faced the enemy at the threshold in the battle of Sumter. The first gun was fired early on Friday morning, April 12th, 1861, and I now clearly recall the impressive incidents of that notable day. I see vessels with troops and supplies for the besieged fort at anchor in the bay, just beyond reach of our shells. I see and hear the thundering cannon continuously all day Friday and Friday night until noon Saturday, when flames begin to leap from the smoking fort, greeted by cheers from Confederate forces—for they knew the end was near. In a short while the big guns cease their horrible roar and we heard loud cheering as the white flag waved over Sumter—succeeded by more cheering as the wonderful news was heard that not a drop of human blood had been shed on either side. Terms were arranged whereby the commander was to salute his flag before hauling it down, and he and his garrison were to be transferred to the vessels in the bay. On Sunday, the 14th, when the flag was being saluted one or two men were killed, and a few wounded by the bursting of a gun. As the steamer with the garrison on board moved from Sumter to the receiving vessels in the bay, the Confederates along the shore stood in line with hats off, in honor of their gallantry in defense. Non-exploding shells were used by both sides in this bombardment.

16. At our annual Reunion held in Tampa in 1927 the convention unanimously passed the following resolutions:

RESOLVED:

1—We bow in grateful reverence to our Heavenly Father for prolonging our lives with many blessings and

for His providence in bringing us together in a spirit of fraternal comradeship reviving many proud and happy memories of our patriotic struggle for the hallowed principles of local self government and constitutional law.

2—We appeal to each veteran to do his part in recording his experiences by speech, by letter and by facts that the future historian may be informed of the causes of the deplorable war, and the spirit with which it was waged. We prayerfully hope for the truth, the whole truth and only the truth of the tragic years of 1861-65.

3—When the war closed we returned to our homes and fields and found them desolated. Under military impositions we were confronted with such trying economic and racial conditions as never before had tested the wisdom, patience and endurance of a stricken people; conditions that in historic review, would bring a blush of shame to intelligent people throughout the whole country. While our duties were calling us to meet these serious conditions, partisans were writing history largely sectional, malicious and false. We appeal to fair minded scholarship for a truthful history that will do justice to all involved.

4—We congratulate ourselves that the thoughtful people of all sections are beginning to see what we have always known, that in pursuing our course we have been within our constitutional and moral rights as taught and exemplified by our Revolutionary ancestors. These facts are clearly illustrated in Statuary Hall of our national capitol, where the statues of Washington and Lee stand side by side, Washington in his Revolutionary uniform and Lee in his Confederate uniform, high exponents of the same sacred principles. We are proud of our leadership. We confidently hold it up for the contemplation of the historian as typical of the highest manhood. The four heroic figures in the administration at the sunset of the Confederacy, were Jefferson Davis, Commander-in-Chief; Robert E. Lee, Commander-in-Arms; John C. Breckenridge, Secretary of War, and Judah P. Benjamin, Secretary of State. We challenge the student of the ages to produce their equals, in cultural graces, in unselfish patriotism, in patient endurance, in inflexible integrity, in nobility of character. We point to them with pride as exemplars for future generations.

17. It was this rich heritage that enabled our dear comrade, Sam Davis, to symbolize to the world that honor

is more sacred than life. I challenge the student of military history to recall such supreme self sacrifice to exalted duty as displayed by this martyred hero. It was this rich heritage that has given us the sublime memories of our comrades blind to fear on the battlefield, pale with hunger in camp, still standing bravely by the colors and faithful to the end. It was this rich heritage that inspired and sustained a son of a Confederate Veteran, as President, to carry on the mightiest war of ages without a breath of scandal, Woodrow Wilson. It was this heritage that placed a son of a Confederate Veteran at the head of the Federal military forces today, General Summerall.

18. Our distinguished comrade, Dr. Curry, in his history of the Confederacy, gives these figures furnished by the Federal war records:

1—The U. S. Army enrolled a total of 2,788,304. This total included

2—720,000 European foreigners, and 150,000 negroes.

3—It also included 350,000 whites enrolled from the Confederate States.

4—At the close of the war 999,704 were on Federal rolls.

5—The maximum estimate of Confederates from first to last was 700,000.

6—Secretary Stanton estimated the Confederate forces at the end of the war at 174,223.

19. The reader may conclude these were very great odds. The experienced Confederate knew they were almost negligible when considering the odds in equipment and resources. At the battle of Chickamauga the odds were approximately as 6 to 4 in numbers. The Confederates were armed with muzzle loading muskets to meet an enemy armed with revolving breech loading rifles. I speak from personal knowledge as my own company captured a number of prisoners so armed in this battle.

20. President Davis's proclamation outlawing Gen. B. F. Butler in the main for his order of insult to the patriotic women of New Orleans was enthusiastically commended by the army and people throughout the South. General Butler's order was not condemned by the authorities at Washington and the voice of the best people in the

North was suppressed by the despotic means of military rule. Here is the disgraceful order:

"Headquarters of the Gulf, New Orleans, May 15, 1862.
"General Order No. 28.

"As the officers and soldiers of the United States have been subjected to repeated insults from the women (calling themselves ladies) of New Orleans, in return for the most scrupulous non-interference and courtesy on our part, it is ordered that hereafter when any female shall by word, gesture or movement, insult or show contempt for any officer or soldier of the United States, she shall be regarded and held liable to be treated as a woman of the town plying her avocation.

"By command of Major General Butler, George C. Strong, A. A. G. Chief of Staff."

This "order" was received with resentful indignation by the Southern army and the people. In marching into battle you would often hear the cry "Remember Butler."

General Butler in his book tells of the contempt and indignation the people of the whole South felt for him, dwells upon it at great length hoping thereby to exalt himself still further with the war groups, especially as he now found himself in great favor with the administration. He pretended to feel himself persecuted, and was posing in the role of a martyr hero.

After issuing this shameful order General Butler returned North and was received by the war party with enthusiasm. In his book—page 67—he says: "The glory and high honors of my reception by the Northern people cannot be more fully described than it was set forth in an extract from the Richmond (Va.) Examiner, as follows:

"After inflicting innumerable tortues upon an innocent and unarmed people; after outraging the sensibility of civilized humanity by his treatment of women and children; after placing bayonets in the hands of slaves; after peculation the most prodigious, and lies the most infamous, he returns, reeking with crime, to his own people, and they receive him with acclamations of joy in a manner that befits him and becomes themselves. Nothing is out of keeping; his whole career and its rewards are strictly artistic in conception and in execution. He was a thief. A sword that he had stolen from a woman—the niece of the brave

Twiggs—was presented to him as a reward for valor. He had violated the laws of God and man. The law makers of the United States voted him thanks, and the preachers of the Yankee gospel of blood came to him and worshiped him. He had broken into the safes and strong boxes of merchants. The New York Chamber of Commerce gave him a dinner. He had insulted women. Women in female attire lavished smiles upon him. He was a murderer, and a nation of assassins have deified him. He is at this time the representative of a people lost to all shame, to all humanity, all honor, all virtue, all manhood. Cowards by nature, thieves upon principles, and assassins at heart, it would be marvelous indeed, if the people of the North refused to render homage to Benjamin Butler—the beastliest, bloodiest poltroon and pickpocket the world ever saw.”

General Butler’s conduct aroused the moral indignation of the leading nations of the world. The French government forbade any of the papers to mention his name. General Butler was so informed by U. S. Senator Sumner who was chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations. (See p. 552, Butler’s Book).

In England Lord Palmerston in Parliament said that the order was unfit to be written in the English language. He also said that the United States Government would revoke the order when it heard it. (See p. 420, Butler’s Book). Butler said of this: “My government did not revoke it, but gave my administration its highest sanction.” (See p. 420, Butler’s Book).

That President Lincoln did not disapprove this order is shown by the following letter in his own hand writing published in Butler’s Book.

“Executive Mansion, Washington, February 11, 1863.
“Whom it may Concern:

“Maj. Gen. Butler, bearer of this, visits the Mississippi river and localities thereon at my request for observation. The military and naval commanders whom he may meet will please facilitate his passage from point to point and make him as comfortable as possible during his stay with them, also impart to him such information as they may possess, and he may seek, not inconsistent with the military service.

“A. LINCOLN.”

21. The following letter from Abraham Lincoln belongs to the Pierpont Morgan collection in New York City. It was photographed with other articles from this collection in many newspapers. It is in the author's own handwriting:

"Executive Mansion, Washington, March 26, 1863.

"Private.

"Hon. Andrew Johnson,

"My Dear Sir:

"I am told you have at least thought of raising a negro military force. In my opinion the country now needs no specific thing so much as some men of your ability and position to go to this work. When I speak of your position I mean that of an eminent citizen of a slave state and himself a slave holder. The colored population is the great available and yet unavailable of, force for restoring the Union. The bare sight of 50,000 American drilled, black soldiers on the banks of the Mississippi would end the rebellion at once, and who doubts we could present this sight, if we but take hold in earnest. If you have been thinking of it, please do not dismiss the thought.

"A. LINCOLN."

Why black troops of the most backward race, with the crudest views of life and the least self control? Why should the bare sight of such troops end the "rebellion"? Why would the bare sight of 50,000 black troops do what it took millions of white troops to accomplish? The answers to these questions are clear and conclusive. Here we have the real Lincoln, speaking for himself, not the mythical Lincoln of designing historians, vindicating Napoleon's definition of history as a fable agreed upon. When the essential postulate of this indefensible letter is fully comprehended it cannot conceivably be justified.

22. In 1864 Louisiana had been reduced to a military province by the consent and influence of President Lincoln who was the pioneer author of "Re-destruction" of the South, plausibly termed "Reconstruction." I quote from Rhodes' history:

"Executive Mansion, March 13, 1864.

"Hon. Michael Hahn,

"My Dear Sir: I congratulate you upon having fixed

your name in history as the first free state governor of Louisiana. Now you are about to have a convention which, among other things, will probably define the elective franchise. I barely suggest for your private consideration whether some of the colored people may not be let in as, for instance, the very intelligent and especially those who have fought gallantly in our ranks. They would probably help in some trying time to come, to keep the jewel of liberty within the family of freedom. But this is only a suggestion, not to the public, but to you alone.

"Yours truly,

"A. LINCOLN."

The following extract is from a review of Stryker's "Life of Andrew Johnson" by Capt. S. A. Ashe, distinguished historian. "The evening of Lee's surrender at Appomattox, a rejoicing throng came to the White House, and Mr. Lincoln made a speech in which he urged that some of the negroes at the South should be allowed to vote, etc. It has been said that it was that negro speech that inflamed Booth. On Friday, April 14, Mr. Lincoln in a cabinet meeting told his startling dream that forboded some great event, such he said, 'As the first battle of Manassas.' That night the dream became a reality. Booth murdered him, exclaiming 'Sic Semper Tyrannis.'"

Here you have President Lincoln suggesting a plan for so-called reconstruction which was subsequently adopted by his partisan lieutenants. It was a vindictive policy to destroy the social institutions of the South. States reduced to military provinces—the most respectable white people disfranchised—all negroes enfranchised, and lead and controlled by reckless groups of foreigners and a few non-descript natives.

In my reading and research in history I have failed to find where President Lincoln in his long and varied life ever uttered a single word or wrote a single line of kindness and sympathy for the people of the South. In spite of this fact—in spite of an indefensible economic war of sectional greed—his assassination was most deplorable and excited horror and sympathy in all sections of the country. Had he lived we have no reason to believe we would have been, in any degree, relieved from the inflicted persecutions, and humiliations of his party politicians in control of public affairs—deluded as they were by ignorance, hate and vindic-

tiveness. These politicians used this terrible tragedy as fuel to flames of war passions, to the slander and traduce-ment of the South as long as they could politically deceive the masses. With these conditions in view we know President Lincoln's death was most unfortunate for the South. Time has changed conditions. Thoughtful people both north and south are beginning to see that the cause of the war was economic and political. The spirit with which it was waged was wanton and cruel; that after the South had been crushed by the man power and the money power of the world—its treatment by the dominant power was infamous.

23. Dr. Curry writes:

“Early in the struggle the North realized that the South could not be defeated in a single handed contest, and so seductive bounties, with prospect of future pensions were held out to promote enlistment of the over-crowded populations of Europe. With this preponderant avoirdupois, equipped and supported without a day's failure of subsistence, four years of gigantic struggle, with a thousand battles unsurpassed by Napoleonic wars, were needed to subjugate the handful of badly armed, poorly clad, poorly fed Southern soldiers.”

24. Comrades, according to official statistics furnished by the Federal Secretary of War more than 720,000 foreigners came over and were enrolled against the South. General Butler estimated that 150,000 negroes were enlisted in their armies. Here we have by their official records an army of 870,000 foreigners and negroes. The maximum estimate of the Confederate army was 700,000 from first to last. These official records show the combined odds of foreigners and negroes alone were more than 170,000 in number.

25. Confederate soldiers were native to the soil and with rare exception were of Revolutionary ancestors. Without considering the cost in blood and treasure they faced these mighty odds for four years in defense of the sacred principles of local self government bequeathed to them by the teachings and examples of Washington, Jefferson and their heroic comrades against the mighty odds of King George in his intolerable aggressive war of greed and injustice. The Confederate soldier knew he was historically, constitutionally and morally right, and to the end was in-

spired with hope by the consciousness that he is thrice armed who has his cause just.

26. If the student of history would inform himself of the spirit of the war as waged we confidently invite him to compare General Sherman's course through Georgia and the Carolinas with General Lee's course in the invasion of Pennsylvania. He will find that General Sherman while in quiet possession of Atlanta expelled from the city thousands of women and children, robbed their homes of all transportable valuables and burned the city to the ground. Continuing his march he made a desert forty miles wide through these states and when he reached Washington was congratulated by the government authorities. The records at Washington and his official staff officers, verify these statements. Then let the student read General Lee's orders to his men in Pennsylvania, orders to respect the rights of the citizens in person and property. Here you have a clear indication of two types of men differing in their sense of duty.

27. I call your attention to an extract from a book by the Century Company called "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War," Vol. 4, part 2, p. 672.

"Marching through Georgia and the Carolinas, by Daniel Oakey, captain 2nd Massachusetts Volunteers—'60,000 of us witnessed the destruction of Atlanta while our Post band and that of the 33rd Massachusetts played martial airs and operatic selections. It was a night never to be forgotten. Our regular routine was a mere form, and there could be no taps amid the brilliant glare and excitement."

It is a well known fact shown by official records that Gen. Halleck advised Sherman while in Savannah to destroy Charleston. Sherman told him if the army reached there it would be done. General Halleck was a close adviser of the administration during the war. General Butler in his book, page 871, says of General Halleck: "I have since learned his character which, as I always speak plainly, I find to be that of a lying, treacherous, hypocritical scoundrel, with no moral sense." Halleck was Lincoln's military advisor during the war.

28. Senator Hoar, in the Senate the 2nd of June, 1900, said: "The Courts-martial during the Civil War were a scandal to the civilized world."

The murder of Captain Wirtz, Commandant of Andersonville prison, by Court-martial, was of the vindictive policy of unscrupulous politicians to deceive the good people of the North in regard to the responsibility for the prevailing conditions of war prisons as well as to misrepresent the South in its treatment of war prisoners—apprehensively, knowing they themselves, were legally and morally responsible for the painful conditions prevailing in prisons. These claims are clearly illustrated by these indisputable facts. First, the government at Washington was responsible for the accumulation of prisoners on both sides by refusing to exchange prisoners.

Second, contrary to all civilized warfare, medical supplies were made contraband of war by the government at Washington.

Third, when pressing need for medical supplies was urged by the Northern prisoners the Confederate authorities informed the Washington government, and asked that such supplies be sent. These were refused on the plea that such supplies would be used for Confederates.

Fourth, the Confederate authorities renewed the request asking that the North's own surgeons be sent to administer to the need of the prisoners. This humane proposition was declined.

Fifth, the Confederate government then sent a committee of prisoners from Andersonville to the authorities at Washington to report the distressing condition prevailing the prisons. The authorities refused to receive them.

Sixth, the Confederate government then requested the Washington government to send and get the sick prisoners, and it was about four months before this was done. In view of these facts where was the legal and moral responsibility for the suffering and death of the men in all prisons, North and South?

The following extract from the "Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government" (p. 598), by Jefferson Davis, shows conclusively who was responsible for the suffering of prisoners both North and South.

"In January, 1864, and even earlier, it became manifest that in consequence of the complication in relation to exchanges, the large mass of prisoners on both sides would remain in captivity for many long and weary months, if

not for the duration of the war. In order to alleviate the hardships of confinement on both sides, our commissioner, on January 24, 1863, addressed a communication to General E. A. Hitchcock, United States Commissioner of exchange, in which he proposed that all prisoners on each side, should be attended by a proper number of their own surgeons, who, under rules to be established should be permitted to take charge of their health and comfort.

"It was also proposed that these surgeons should act as commissaries, with power to receive and distribute such contributions of money, food, clothing and medicine, as might be forwarded for relief of the prisoners. It was further proposed that these surgeons should be selected by their own government, and that they should have full liberty, at any and all times through the agents of exchange, to make reports, not only of their own acts but of any matters relating to the welfare of the prisoners.

"To this communication no reply of any kind was ever made.

Note—A commissary's prime duty is to look after the food supplies as well as the medical supplies.

The war records in Washington show that a larger per cent of Confederate soldiers died in Northern prisons than Northern soldiers in Southern prisons.

29. The age-long system of negro slavery became involved in the controversy, but the sectional historians do not tell you that Old England and New England for generations had a practical monopoly of the African slave trade, and that both were enriched by this nefarious traffic. They do not tell you that the British parliament after a full discussion of the slavery question abolished the African slave trade on the 5th of March, 1807, and 31 years thereafter every slave in the British Empire had been made free by a deliberate act of parliament, a great moral revolution attained by statesmanship, and not by the inflamed passions of bigotry. England paid \$150,000,000, approximately, as compensation for the slaves, and in many places the event was celebrated by planters and freed men together.

African slavery existed in the colonies, possibly with one exception, at the formation of the government and at this time New England and Old England had practically the monopoly of the foreign slave trade. The New England

slave traders succeeded in delaying the abolishment of this traffic until 1808.

During these intervening years many thousands of slaves were imported by these enterprising slave traders. The partisan historians do not tell you that a slave ship was never owned nor controlled by a Southern man. They do not tell you that these traders' moral sense was dormant until after they had converted their slaves into gold, nor do they tell you there were more abolition societies in the South than in the North until the extreme fanatics had created apprehension in the South by their demonstrations and declared purposes. The official records show that at one period Newport, in the state of Rhode Island, had 170 vessels engaged in the African slave trade. John Brown, of notorious history with a band of deluded followers seized the arsenal at Harpers Ferry in 1859, with a sword in one hand and a torch in the other, declaring his purpose to incite the negroes to insurrection. This reckless declaration in the light of history created great excitement throughout the country and very grave apprehension in the South. He was tried by a court of Virginia, convicted as a felon and executed under the laws of the state. When his remains were transported through many northern cities the church bells tolled in his honor. A motion in the Massachusetts legislature to adjourn in his honor was defeated by a small majority. These increasing manifestations of utter disregard of law and order, excited still graver apprehension which tended to precipitate the war.

30. The negroes in the mass during the war were faithful and dutiful. Our women and children every where felt safe and protected, remaining on the plantations while fathers and husbands were in the army. I cannot recall an instance of a serious misdeed during the four years of the war. We owe them a debt of gratitude and esteem for their faithfulness during that period. The race problem is a vital one with us today, especially the negro race problem. Let us see to it that they have full justice in the protection of their life, liberty and property, and appeal to their true leaders to join with us in promoting the identity of both races by inflexible social lines that are necessary to accomplish this result.

31. Here is an extract from Jefferson Davis's last speech in the United States Senate: "The union of these

states forms in my judgment the best government instituted among men. It is only necessary to carry it out in the spirit in which it was formed. Our fathers made a union of friendly states—now hostility has been substituted for fraternity. I call on men who have hearts and love the Union, to look the danger in the face. This Union is dear to me as a Union of fraternal states. **Long have I offered propositions for equality in the Union—not a single Republican has voted for them.** We have in vain endeavored to secure tranquility and obtain respect for the rights to which we are entitled. As a necessity, **not a choice**, we have resorted to the remedy of separation. We have never asked for **concessions**; what we wanted was justice.”

32. Our beloved President of the Confederacy, Jefferson Davis, conducted a righteous war, a war declared by Lord Wolseley, Field Marshal of the British Empire, to have been conducted with most remarkable ability, on the highest plane of chivalry and humanity, and he said under his own signature that every Confederate soldier should be proud of his part in it.

Who was most responsible for the organization of this incomparable army, winning many victories against mighty odds; to be defeated only by gradual starvation? Jefferson Davis was our Constitutional Commander-in-Chief. It was he who appointed all army officers. It was he who appointed the peerless Lee in command of all Confederate forces. It was he who chose Lee as his chief adviser in military strategy. Jefferson Davis's life was a triumphant epic of illustrious achievement. See his courage and skill in the Mexican War; a notably efficient Secretary of War; a leader in the Federal Senate—I earnestly invite every student of American history to read his farewell address in retiring from the Senate February 21, 1861. In eloquence, in logic, in historic lore, in a plea for amity, this address has never been surpassed in these United States. See him a victim of bigotry and fanaticism. See him indicted for crime by a partisan jury of military control. See him pleading for an early and speedy trial. See his enemies refusing a court trial knowing the exposed facts would show that they had waged an indefensible war of economic greed under veiled pretenses. See him released under bonds, adroitly arranged by designing politicians. See him return to his own people received with such devoted love as only mar-

tyrdom for a just cause could evoke. I am not only familiar with his public history, but knew him personally, and I proudly invite the student of the ages to find his superior in personal graces, in unselfish patriotism, heroic endurance, in inflexible allegiance to conviction, in integrity and nobility of character. Before the measure of his exalted manhood his enemies have fallen away. His statue from the State of Mississippi will soon be placed in the National Hall of Fame. The following article with several notable quotations was written by Miss Mary D. Carter, a tireless and most efficient historian of Virginia, in the Southern Churchman, May 11, 1929:

33. "A critic of General Lee claimed that the tragedy of his life was because he failed 'to put first things first.' That the case is mis-stated and that the reverse is true, can be readily proved. Will quote from three Northern witnesses and one Southern, a no less a person than Lee himself. Many others could be given did space permit; these, however, will show my point.

"Gen. Morris Schaff, of Boston, in his 'Life of Jefferson Davis,' states the case for Lee and the Confederacy thus: 'In spite of disasters and privations, the Southern people were willing to fight on. That spirit in Davis was the color bearer and never quailed; the triumph for him and for Lee and the self-respecting was the principle involved, a principle we venture to prophesy which will be the rallying ground for the people of the United States when the rights under the Constitution are all in the constricting folds of the Lernean Hydra of complete centralization.'

"Dr. Arthur W. Littlefield, well-known New England divine, thus states the case in the January, 1924, issue of 'The Libertarian': 'The South tried to divide the country; Lincoln saved it, that is erroneous notion in these parts still; nobody up here, with very few exceptions, understands that the South tried to save Federalism and the Constitution of the Fathers as against Imperialism and the Constitution of the Protectionists. The South, though defeated, really saved to America, and as we now see, the world, all that was best in American nationality—the Constitution of the Confederacy furnishes ample proof of that. Lee's shrine at Lexington, not Lincoln's tomb, will become the shrine of American patriotism, when once history is told correctly.

. . . Both Henry Clay and Calhoun saw clearly that

Federalism would develop eventually into Imperialism and that the central government could and would coerce the states whenever one section got control of that government. This, of course, actually happened in the tariff legislation inaugurated and controlled by the North. . . . In order to be true to the American ideal, one must know no sections nor mere habitat. I am simply an American patriot trying to be true to Principles, and loving the South, not only for her own sake, but because she was true to the Principles that their fathers thought they had established and secured in the Constitution of 1787-89. Personally, I don't care for any re-writing of the Constitution; I want a new emphasis upon the Jeffersonian principles and those of the Confederacy inculcated among the American people, and for that I am working mightily! The historic fact is, that the Northeastern States have nearly destroyed not only the Constitution, but also the fundamental American ideals of local self-government and a Federal Union built upon State sovereignty. The signs of a new revolt, akin to that of the Sixties, are ominous, but with bullets never again, only ballots now and evermore. Surely, the "Lost Cause" is having a most glorious resurrection! I wonder how many Americans—especially Southerners—realize it?

"Gamaliel Bradford states the case in *The New York Times*, February, 1925, thus: 'Of all the great political questions pressing upon the country for solution today, none is more important than the relation of the State and Federal governments. The encroachment of the Federal power has been so steady and so slow that few stop to realize the radical changes it involves; and fewer still to consider how these changes may be best met. It was the protest against this tendency which largely animated the thinking men of the South in the Civil War, however, slavery may have been the immediate provoking cause of that great contest. And the result of the war was to increase immensely the Federal power and influence. The dangerous aspect of the matter is that, as every year sees the gradual increase in vigor and dominance of the government at Washington, so there is an even greater corresponding tendency to weaken and degrade the state governments. And unless some remedy can be found for it, it is difficult to overestimate the perils to which our whole system is exposed. The attempt of the North to maintain the Union was nothing but forcible conquest, and the surrender at

Appomattox marked the most tremendous step in the progression that had gone on from the beginning to undermine the state governments and increase the power of the Federal. I hope you may see fit to allow my brief discussion to serve as introduction to the letter of General Lee to Lord Acton, which should be widely circulated for the benefit of those who have misunderstood the position of the Southern leaders.'

"Lastly, Gen. Lee states his own case, in his letter to Colonel McCullough, a member of the faculty of Washington and Lee, who at the time of the writing of this letter (September 28, 1869), was on a mission to France, connected with this institution. I quote from this letter as follows: 'I am very much obliged for the kind sentiment felt for the South and the sympathy extended to our people (by the French). Every brave people who considered their rights attacked and their constitutional liberties invaded, would have done as we did. Our conduct was not caused by any insurrectionary spirit, nor can it be termed rebellious, for our construction of the Constitution under which we lived and acted, was the same from its adoption, and for eighty years we had been taught and educated by the founders of the Republic, and their written declarations which controlled our consciences and actions. The epithets that have been heaped upon us of "Rebels" and traitors have no just meaning nor are they believed in by those who understood the subject, even at the North.'

After reading these testimonies, the conclusion is incapable that Lee's objective was "the principle involved"—that he fought to preserve not only for Virginia, but every state in the Union—the American ideals of local self-government and a Federal Union built upon State Sovereignty in other words, a government, of the people, by the people, and for the people; the "eternal verity" on which all human liberty rests, and if this is not "putting first things first," then I fail to understand the English language.

33. As very appropriate at this time I will quote from our distinguished and lamented comrade, Dr. J. L. M. Curry's History of the Confederate States, its eloquent conclusion:

"If the South be freed from unjust aspersions, with patriotism and courage acknowledged as well as civic and military virtues freely accorded, actions based upon long as-

served state rights and the guarantee of the Constitution justly recognized, there will be in the future, with its questions demanding united energies, a whole country, with no alienations, no unappeased hates, no wrangling over 'dead past,' no pulling in opposite directions. North and South, East and West, joined in purpose and hope and effort, for honor and freedom and glory, will not be separated in sentiment or party upon questions deep buried in the irrevocable past. They will be controlled by a common desire to make America prosperous, contented, happy and free, a consitutional, representative Federal Republic, the example to all nations struggling for good government, the beneficent illustration of Liberty Enlightening the World."

